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591 Most Mapuche living arrangements are accounted for by a simple rule of patrilocal residence. When a man marries he brings his wife to his reservation and lives there with her on land allotted to him according to his claim on his patrilineage. Within this broad context, there are variations, one of which has been characterized as "neolocality." Under present-day conditions, neolocality does not imply that a man sets up his own household off the paternal reservation. It has been used, by Titiev (1951), to describe a condition in which a man moves away from the paternal roof after marriage, although remaining on the reservation. The distance he moves and the kind of relationship he maintains with his paternal household of course qualify the concept of neolocality. In all cases, however, the situation is one of patrilocality by reservation.

•59 If a man continues to work his father's land, depends on his father's assistance in building his new house and setting up a household, and generally remains under his father's authority in important economic matters, I feel that it is misleading to characterize the residence pattern as neolocal. Actually, it is more in the nature of a compound arrangement in which each son, or some of them, sets up a house of his own after marriage. The paternal house is the focal point of the group of houses and together with them makes up a joint-extended family (*lofche*). It is similar to the polygynous family (and indeed may have a polygynous unit) in which a man has separate houses for each of his wives and their children, although in the polygynous cases the houses are more nucleated, whereas in the former case the sons' houses might be near the perimeter of the paternal land. But in either case, we must look to the interhousehold relationships before attempting to define the type of residence.

Thus, the rule of patrilocal residence is generally adhered to but must be qualified when greater specificity is desired. There is the compound variation already mentioned. There is also the budding of houses from the parental house, followed by a rupture of relationships between father and sons or, more usually, between brothers and their grown sons. Where this occurs, it might be more useful to consider the pattern as one of virilocal residence, implying a certain measure of autonomy per household unit not observable to the same extent in the

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compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation community is taken as the frame of reference. 590

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater structural significance than the finer variations within the patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an infrequently encountered living arrangement, although patterned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringement of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation. It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation. 591 [178] [829]

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which brideprice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If they remarried, they resettled or, more commonly, remained on their husbands's reservation and established a new household with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does not constitute remarriage, since no additional brideprice is paid for rights over the woman. 591 736 602 [613] 587 591 [583]

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women born after registration). While these rights cannot always be validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given *de facto* use rights to plots of land. These women are usually 562 591 423 [648]

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proximate ethnographic reality reflects a different set of interests than the model diagram which nicely converges on the ancestor-god. Therefore, segments of the maximal lineage may be said to function differently depending on whether involvement of the membership is economic, political, or ritual in nature—to take three of the most interesting and important spheres of social action.

The Chain of Intrafamilial Relationships

As already indicated, the family, defined as a land-using household group, whether in the extended or elementary phase of development, has emerged as the basic economic (agricultural) unit in Mapuche society. As the lineage-based residential group has increased in size of membership, so has it diminished in importance as a unit in day-to-day cooperative enterprise. It is the household or small group of closely related households which carries out the basic economic activities.

The family may be viewed from several angles, depending on which kinds of relationships are to be examined. It may be discussed as a structural unit comparable to other such units in the society. It may also be conceived of as a special relationship in time, which exists until its members establish new sets of relationships which affect both the composition and the organization of the family. The nature of any family changes in the course of years and generations, most obviously with respect to births, marriages, deaths, and the realignments these imply.

It is with a highly selective aspect of the family constellation that I am now concerned, that is, with the family as a link in a chain of social relationships over time. Of greatest importance to this study is the family as a microcosm of the lineage, as a structure of continuity in Mapuche society. There are certain key relationships which are family-based, and which serve to maintain social continuity. These are the relationships between father and son, between brothers, and, especially, the relationship between grandfather and grandchild.

As in other patrilineal systems, it generally holds that the intrafamilial relationship of most immediate structural significance is that between father and son. In Mapuche society, inheritance, at least in theory, is equal among a man's legitimate sons.

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867 603 593 learns. For the practical purpose of passing traditional knowledge from one adult generation to another, this situation provides instruction from father to son, occurring, however, when a third generation is introduced to traditional morality. As the third generation matures, the instruction is reinforced at the time the fourth generation is introduced to the traditional values through stories and myths. And so on.

867 829 603 613 The grandfather does not usually recount his own life experiences as object lessons in good living to the same extent that he repeats what he himself learned from his father and grandfather. It is likely that many of the fundamental do's and don't's of eighteenth-century vintage are still passed along in this way. This seems a recurrent phenomenon among contemporary [769] Mapuche. It is intimately related to the propitiation of ancestral spirits, to the notion that a man begets offspring for his [601] grandfather. This continuity is expressed in the reciprocal use of the *laku* term between alternate generations, in the *lakutun* [553] (naming rite) in which grandfather bestows a name on grandson, and in the ritual association of the words *kume laku pu am*, which may be translated as "the beneficent spirits of my grandfathers." It is an outlook or world view which serves to compress time within the limits of the lineage framework and thus connect more closely the living with the dead. It is a notion which sees no violence done to history through the omission of pinpointing in time historic events, or even lumping together or presenting out of sequence the salient events of Mapucheana. Because of this a-historical view (in this instance) of the universe, there is the impression of timelessness and infinite sameness, an intellectual ambient which facilitates the compression of genealogies and their manipulation toward even more solidary structures.

59 182 867 Institutionalized relationships within the immediate family confines, the household or group of most closely related households, create and reinforce notions of moral obligation. The household is the meeting ground for the practical training of the young and for their instruction in religious morality. But the sanctions for this instruction come from without the confines of [603] the household. They are mediated by the grandfather-figure and the host of *kume laku pu am*, and are truly cosmic in origin. At

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any given time the family constellation is a link in this never-ending chain of relationships with the past and the future.

Courtship and Marriage

Marriage brings new elementary families into being and provides offspring of regularized unions a clearly legitimate status in the patrilineage and the reservation community. Marriage is a fundamental expression of institutionalized relationships between unilineal descent groups which stand to one another as wife-giver and wife-receiver. It is a structure which involves rights and obligations surrounding the transfer of wealth between such groups, as well as patterned and traditionally santioned primary and secondary unions, separation, divorce, ritual belief and action of a congregational nature, and numerous other aspects of sustained social relationship.[1]

During marriage negotiations and nuptials there is much formal concern with spirits ancestral to the cognatic group most directly involved, the union and in most cases the reunion of the two lines, the preservation of descent groups through the legitimate procreation of children and heirs, the substantiation of traditional values through the correct conduct of the marriage ceremony, and so forth. Mapuche notions of incest-exogamy, sanctioned in myth and story and overwhelmingly observed in practice, are reinforced through a number of symbolic acts connected with marriage.

Courtship is a prelude to marriage within the boundaries of the matrilateral system. Conducted along established lines of wife-giving and wife-receiving lineages, courtship provides the setting for premarital sexual affairs on a level of respectability which receives the tacit approval of the elders of any community. The young couple and their immediate families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course and according to traditional form. Marriage is a reaffirmation of the established bonds between segments of a person's cognatic group of relatives, segments which have a sustained marital

[1] Marriage is discussed in more detail in *Mapuche Social Structure* (Faron 1961a).